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592 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be
593 quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbiče) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kiči əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of
562 view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

[5] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kiči əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Description des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–14.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Description des hordes*, 353.

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sole recompense for the toil of the Kazak woman was to be treated like a slave by her arrogant and severe master. Grodekov also considers the wife as legally a slave whom the husband had the right to punish by beating,[14] and Zaleskie[15] points out that although the Kazak woman had complete physical personal freedom she was less the companion of her husband than the animals of his herds.

On the other hand Karutz[16] denies specifically that the relation between husband and wife approached that of master and slave. The household was harmonious and in it the wife held a respected position. That the senior wife at least might be considered a responsible partner in her husband's affairs is indicated by Lansdell:[17]

> The head of a household will often send a portion of his herds several hundreds of miles away under the care of this [the senior] wife while he himself will either remain with his other wives about the grazing ground or go and encamp somewhere by himself.

And Ibn Battúta says:[18]

> A remarkable thing which I saw in this country was the respect shown to women by the Turks, for they hold a more dignified position than the men.

And again:[19]

> Among the Turks and Tatars their wives hold a high position; when they issue an order they say in it "By order of the Sultan and the Khatuns" [queens, wives of a khan]. Each khatun possesses several towns and districts and vast revenues, and when they travel with the sultan they have a separate camp.

These observations of Ibn Battúta were made about 1332 and it is uncertain exactly to which Turco-Mongol group they refer, although considering the route of his journey they probably include tribes ancestral to the Kazak. They agree with other information on the status of women among the steppe nomads at the time,[20] but may be somewhat discounted as applying particularly to the highest class among whom marriages took on something of the nature of political alliances with a consequently enhanced position for the wife. His remarks are, however, interesting as applying to a period before the wide acceptance of Mohammedanism among the Turkish nomads. It seems possible that the contradictory accounts of the status of the Kazak woman may be due to her somewhat anomalous position resulting from the imposition of Mohammedan concepts upon a former culture pattern in which she occupied a more respected position.

My informants on the whole painted a rather gloomy picture of the life of the Kazak

[14] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 23; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151–52.
[15] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.
[16] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 114–15.
[17] *Russian Central Asia*, 322.
[18] *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 146–47.
[19] *Idem*, 100–101.
[20] *The Texts and Versions*, 134, 196–97.

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woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɨz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

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586 parents to prevent the breakup of their daughter's marriage so that they might not run the risk of being obliged to return the kalym. An unscrupulous father might simply refuse to restore it under any circumstance, thereby precipitating a quarrel which could end in a blood feud.

[562] The wife might, according to one informant, leave her husband because of cruel treatment and return to her parents. This statement is somewhat at variance with the notion of the Kazak woman as being in effect the slave of her husband. The force which restrained her from leaving a cruel husband was probably the fact that she would not be welcomed back by her family who would then be under obligation to return the full kalym because of her desertion. Karutz[81] suggests that harsh treatment on the part of the husband might justify a woman in leaving him.

587 In some cases divorce was permitted a woman from a particular husband but she was obliged to take another from his close relatives, preferably his younger brother. Impotency on the part of the husband was cause for separation but the wife had to marry again within the first husband's family. Similarly, a wife whose husband was absent for seven years without making provision for her, reverted to his brother.[82]

Levshin says[83] that only the senior wife, if she had sufficiently grave reasons, might return to her own family. The junior wives had no such privilege.

According to Grodekov's information a divorced woman, who, as a wife was considered as belonging in a sense not to an individual but to the group, must always take another husband from among the first husband's relatives.[84] My informants said that this was by no means the case. A divorced woman might return to her own parents or marry again some man from a third group. There were numerous instances of this but one must consider the possibility that it may represent a comparatively recent development. Also it is necessary continually to bear in mind the difference between theory and practice in social relationships.

586 A similar problem is involved in the question of the disposition of the children of a divorced couple. At first my informants said that all children would invariably remain with the father.[85] Later it appeared that although sons would always stay with the male parent it was not unusual for a daughter to go with her mother. Dingelstedt moreover[86] indicates that the eldest son had a right to choose between his parents.

The question of the uru affiliation of children who went with the mother at the dissolution of a marriage is of importance. Tlenshiev said that when a divorced wife returned with a daughter to her own family the daughter lost connection with the uru of her father. The

[81] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 111–12.
[82] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.
[83] *Description des hordes*, 364.
[84] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[85] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 112
[86] *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

671/178 logical innovations appear along with the juridical ones. As an example we enter the usual opening of the reports of the extraordinary sessions /chrezvychainyi s"ezd/ in the Perovsk uyezd: bz chirizvychainyi s"ez biileri yasaimizler ushbu purtukulni aning khakynda kim.... In place of "bii" one finds the "judge bii. "Disagreements can be heard among the biis concerning the actual character of the present customary law (toluk adat). Hence a desire has been expressed by several personages in the Russian administration to have a codex of customary laws, collected by inquiries and reviewed with the participation of experts, which could serve as a protection of the litigants from arbitrary action by the court.

671 Among the Kazakhs there is an inclination to the Shariat, which has been taught them by the more educated mullahs. Thus, for example, Aviz (of the Perovsk uyezd) remarked: "it is unfortunate that when the region was taken we did not request the Shariat for ourselves. There is no customary law, but there is the Shariat. " In answer to a question concerning articles of the Shariat which have not been foreseen by the customary law, for example, the right of the neighbor (shafi) as a privileged buyer, bii Umur-Beg of the Auliye-Ata uyezd has recognized the Shariat as more important than the customary law. Concerning conflicts between the Shariat and the customary law, he said: "We are slaves of the Shariat, we do not defend the customary law (shariatka kulmyz adatka talaspaimyz). " Only concerning the uncovering of the faces of the women (1) did he admit that this is a

671/562 1. In Yangabazar /Yangi-Bazar near Tashkent, the former volost administrator mullah Musa and the Kazakh Dzhumatai wanted to introduce the seclusion of women in their houses. But the Kazakhs continued to go in to see them (basaverdi). They said: "Our fathers and grandfathers did not force the women to be shut off; this is not in our customary law. " (ata babamyz katyrgan yok, zangy myzda yok). Mullah Musa had the same lack of success when he wanted to prohibit the singing of couplets (ulen) at the marriage of his daughter, since they are not sung among the Sarts. The arguments on the basis of which the Kazakhs consider it possible to depart from the Shariat on the question of covering the faces of the women, and not to consider it a sin to see their faces (kurgen ksi guneker bulmaidy) are as follows: 1) the Kazakh woman who has been acquired as a wife for money is the same

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as a slave (churi khisabi bulady), and 2) she is not easily beguiled by strangers since she lives on the steppe and works beside her husband, loading the camels, milking cows and nursing the children (bagane adamga kub kungul' bermeidi, bayina kyzmet kylyb tyuya artib mal saub bala chagasyna karab yuredi).

custom (minez rasm) of the Kazakhs and they enjoy great freedom (kazak keng bulady). Torgai spoke of the customary law in this way: 671
"The customary law is really a suckling pig" /24/ (chuchkanyng bel'gi balsy). He does not subordinate himself to the customary law. As Kyul'baev, a Kazakh of the Kurama uyezd, expressed it, the customary law is the stable boy of the Shariat (adat shariatyng yilaukeri). In the Kurama uyezd a small number of sedentary Kazakhs have accepted the Shariat, but most of them hold to the customary law. However the administration is constantly receiving requests to introduce the Shariat among them. The best people are judged by the kazi, where they can soon be absolved by their personal oath, while with the bii, the oath is imposed on a kinsman in the third lineage or further removed, which makes the position of the litigant more difficult. In the Kurama uyezd the people are asked if they want to be judged by the customary law or by the Shariat, and they know that the customary law is agreeable (makul) to the Russians.

In the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd one finds the phrases: "by customary law"," by the full customary law" (toluk adat buyunsha), "by the Shariat" and "by the law." The last, by the interpretation of several Kazakhs, is intended to give the decision greater force.

Makovetskii, in the foreword to the first part of his Materialy dlia Izucheniia Iuridicheskikh Obychaev Kirgizov /Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kazakhs/, (Omsk, 1886), distinguishes innovations from old customs, relating primarily to precepts established under the khan Az Tauke. Khan Tauke assembled seven biis at Kul'-Tyube (in the Syr-Darya region) /old Tashkent uyezd/, among whom was the famous bii Tule Alimbekov, and these biis combined the old customs of the khans Kasym and Ishim ("Kasymkhannyng Kaska Dzhol"-The Pure Road, of khan Kasym, and "Isymkhannyng Iski Dzhol" -The Old Road, of khan Ishim) into new customs, called Dzhety Dzharga. These customs were not written down, but were given the form of short sayings and proverbs, which have been retained to a considerable degree until now, and enjoy universal respect. (1)

684 cannot get off with a declaration that the wife was yielded to him for money, etc., and he pays a fine. For abducting a wife without her consent the lover is beaten and required to pay from one to three toguz (tyuya bastagan toguz, at bastagan toguz, siir bastagan toguz). If the wife was abducted with her consent, they beat the lover and the wife, and in addition the lover pays from one to three toguz.

683 /88/ If a husband publicly raises a knife, ax or saber against his wife, or wounds her with such weapons, an atton is awarded to the wife's relatives who make a complaint. A third case of such a complaint causes a divorce.

For threatening to kill the wife, her relatives do not take her away with them, but only threaten the husband saying: "If you kill her, then you will get it soundly" (ultirseng tubinde kurersen).

If a wife thrashes her husband, the husband or the husband's brother strips her naked, ties her and whips her. If she complained to the bii, he would sentence her to the same.

For mutilation, breaking an arm, blinding the eyes, etc., a husband pays less than the usual fine for these injuries. In demanding a fine, the wife's relatives express themselves thus: "You have mutilated our sister, and lowered her value" (aibdi kyldyng, karyndasymyzdy kem kyldyng, bakhasyn kettirding). For giving the wife a light wound on the head, or for a scar (bas yarylsa, tamga tusse), etc. there is no complaint.

When they find out about the husband's beating his wife, her relatives (turkun) appear before him with the words: "Surely she has been convicted of stealing or infidelity? (koiynan urlyk shykty ma, koynynan uinaq shykty ma?); If you are dissatisfied with her a second time, give her to us (ekinchi yaman kurseng bizge ber); If you are not pleased with her, we are pleased with her (sen yaman kurseng de, biz yaman kurmeymiz). If she has fallen into error prove it to us through witnesses and cut off her head, and we will cut off her legs" (aybi bulsa, guva menen muynyna koy, basyn kis, biz ayagyn kiseyik). The husband answers: "I can beat her as much as I like, and if I beat her to death, I will pay wergeld." The relatives do not take the wife away, but they advise her to run away to them, which she later does. Then the husband, repenting of his anger and shamed by the people (yurt), goes after her, and promises by oath (kasam beredi) not to beat her or scold her. Her relatives agree to this with the words: "To return the wife the first time is the custom of the people (yurttyng resmi). But if you beat her again,

we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara. 683 562

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband. 586

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship, as it is said. 682 562

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliya[illegible] tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter. 842

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce. 586

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, 587

586 among the relatives. The groom's father is the first to give to the contribution. This property remains with the husband in the case of divorce.

According to Umurbek, the children of divorced parents remain with the father, but an amicable agreement can be reached
587 and the young ones granted to the mother. According to Mikebai,
429 often the relatives will not permit a minor son to go to the new husband of the widow. A grown son has freedom of choice. The first of the daughters always goes with the mother, and the others remain with the successors. Now, however, the daughters too have the right to give consent or not.

Among the Kirgiz, Kurpetai Daulekulov reports that the sons and daughters remain with the father's relatives after his death. If there are several daughters the biis may allot the youngest one to the mother. According to the report of the Kirgiz Daniyar, a widow who marries a close kinsman of her husband, takes property with her and a young son. But if she marries a strange man she receives neither property nor the son, and the kalym which comes for her goes to the brothers of the deceased and in part for the use of her children. A divorced woman also fails to receive property or her son.

182 If the step-father is killed, the step-son does not have the
593 right to claim wergeld. Likewise if the step-son is killed, the step-father has no right to demand wergeld. The wergeld is demanded by the closest kinsmen, and the step-father or the step-son can only receive a reward for the expenses born by them for the burial. The step-father has a right to demand wergeld for his own use for a killed step-son only if there are no other kinsmen.

593 /93/ The wife does the work her husband directs her to do.
562 She is not allowed to argue (erkbermeymiz). In the absence of the husband the wife feeds herself from his livestock. Even if there are no means of life for a long time, she still cannot marry another because of this.

593 There is no obstacle preventing a husband who is absent for
562 a long time from entrusting or reconveying his wife to another. Only
837 the latter is not customary. (1)

1. According to Makovetskii, I.p. 24, this happens: "the biis refuse a husband who claims the wife who has been sold."

Only daughters given to ishans as a gift (nazyr), not wives.

562 837

The custom of hetaeristic hospitality exists in secret in the north and in Siberia, but less in the south. In one of the volumes of the Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia, a custom is mentioned where a guest puts his hand on the bosom of a sleeping maiden three times, and if she does not push it away, it signifies her agreement. Bii Sultan Kanaev denied such a right of the guest, adding: "This is unthinkable" (ol suz imes).

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A wife and children who have not received their allotment do not have any property. If the wife lives with her husband, she takes part with him in the use of the property (malyna sirik). But she cannot manage the property under her supervision (khatyn biyleb mal beralmeydi). In the absence of the husband she manages the property. For example, on the demand of her husband's friend (tamyr), if he is dependable (isenimdi) she gives him things for his use, or gives them to him as a gift. When the husband returns he may not give his consent, and then the gift is taken back. The same thing takes place with an object sold by the wife in the husband's absence, in accordance with the opinion that "women have half a mind" (khatynnyng akyly yarymdyk) and according to the proverb: "a woman is without a mind, a frog is without a tail" (khatyn akylsiz baka kuyruksyz).

421 562 612

Among the Kirgiz, spouses have common property (inchiles). Wergeld for a wife is not received by her husband, but by her clan. If she /94/ was wounded by someone, the fine for the wound, if the fine was called aibom, is received by her husband. But if this fine was recorded in the decision under the name of wergeld, then it is received by the kinsmen of the wife.

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The wife who goes away from her husband does not take anything wiht her (according to Abdrakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd) Maykut (Auliye-Ata uyezd) transmits the information that in antiquity like the Siberian indigenous peoples according to Samokvasov, the property of the childless deceased wife, consisting of her clothing, fur coat, rug, blanket, bridal headdress and kerchief, is returned to her father or the person who married her off with this dowry.

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If a wife complains of the squandering or unprofitable exploitation of property by her heedless husband the bii does not accept ich a suit in his examination, but sends her to the nearest aksakals, [595] lan chiefs and authoritative kinsmen.

A wife may trade only with the agreement of her husband. A idow (tulkhatun) is not prevented from trading.

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A wife appears in court: 1) on matters of offense by the husband, tc., 2) in place of minor children, in the absence of her husband or

562 695 their guardian. Women are permitted to enter a complaint in court of their rape. (1) In such a case the woman has the right to defend her

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1. When a woman declares that she has been raped, and this is based only on one such declaration, the people's court sentences the person accused by the woman to pay a material remuneration to the plaintiff.

interests personally before the court. The testimony of women has force only in affairs affecting them personally. In affairs of men, no interference of women is permitted. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, women are not even called to court in matters concerning men and kinsmen.

Women, for example, the wife who is the defendant, are called up for a brief examination, but if she denies her guilt, it is limited to that.

If the wife is in dispute with her husband, no credit is given to her testimony at all (the biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd).

[593] /95/ Wives use the seal of their husbands but not of their fathers, since, according to the explanation of bii Sagyndykov, a Kazakh woman who was bought for a kalym is without rights (ikhtiyri yok), like a slave (churi), like livestock (mal) or land property (mulyk yer).

A woman is not permitted to take an oath. (1) An oath is

1. According to Torgai, the women are allowed to take an oath by the Shariat. He transmits from the words of the elders that in an extreme case they dress the Kazakh woman in men's clothing. Perhaps this evidence is only an attempt to bring the customary law closer to the Shariat.

possible from the woman's side, i. e., from her commune, but this too is avoided. According to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, it is impossible for a woman to take an oath, but her husband and his relatives can take it. Cases in which decisions were made on the basis of a woman's oath in the absence of male witnesses, are very rare. Bii Abdrakhman does not recall a case of murder, for example, which was committed by a woman, without male witnesses.

562 681 For a murder committed by a woman, wergeld is not changed. For the murder of a woman, half a wergeld is sought. But for injury of a woman no less is sought than for injury of a man, and

often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man.

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady).(2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials.

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father.

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride

strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to

he father of these children (Perovsk uyezd).

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does and in such cases the men call the women living with them

nts, as though they were working for wages. The women in

[212 cont.]

[643] This measure was fully successful. Nurali was proclaimed khan in an assembly of the people, and they sent to the court Sultan Djanibek and several distinguished Kazaks, who came to bring this news to Orenburg. They said they had been sent on behalf of the Middle and the Little Hordes, and requested therefore that Khan Nurali be named khan of the two hordes. Several reasons made it impossible to satisfy this request. 1) The Russian officer who presided at the election of Nurali stated that Djanibek Batyr was the only elder of the Middle Horde who had taken part, and that he had always lived near Abulkhair, as had several tens of ordinary Kazaks who had long been separated from the Middle [644] Horde and who also lived among the subjects of Abulkhair. 2) Al- [645] most all the most distinguished sultans of the Middle Horde had either their sons or their closest kinsmen as hostages with the Dzungarian prince, who from that moment had begun to raise claims to sovereignty over the entire horde, and this caused the Russian government grave suspicions as to the obedience of that horde.

On the other hand they did not wish to vex Nurali by presenting a formal refusal to the request of his ambassador, and it [643] was decided to name him khan of the Kazaks without designating any horde. On the day of February 26, 1749, he was sent the imperial letter patent concerning his new office. At the same time another letter patent was sent in the name of the Kazak people to confirm their choice, and Nepluev was enjoined to invite Nurali to come to Orenburg and to proclaim him khan there in an imposing manner.

[662] Before speaking of this ceremony, we will say that [213] Nepluev and Tevkelev were aided in their design to cause Nurali's election by his mother, Khaness Papai, who by her intelligence had won the respect of the entire Little Horde and sometimes had much influence upon its administration. Because she [illegible] and [illegible] Russians, she had often dissuaded her husband Abulkhair from carrying out plans which were harmful to Russia (1). All this [562]

1. She possessed a stamp with her name,

[213 cont.]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

[214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

K 648 reliability is essential for advancement, the Slavs are understandably hesitant to place the Kazakhs in positions of responsibility and trust, whether this involves "family relations" or not. The second reason is K 562 that the Kazakhs simply are not coming forward to be trained and pro- 181 moted. This is seen especially in the virtual absence of Kazakh women in positions of any responsibility. Here Kazakh and Communist values are completely opposite. In theory, if not in practice, Soviet women are considered the equals of men, whereas the Kazakhs, in both theory and actuality, keep their women in a very subordinate status. But it is also apparent that the men themselves are not becoming any more involved than they have to in the activities most emphasized by the Soviets, and K where they can they are holding onto their old values and traditional way 154 of life, meeting the Soviet demands with essentially passive resistance.

It must be presumed that Kazakh participation in Soviet affairs will K increase over time under the continuing pressure exerted. Neverthe- 177 less, the Sovietization of the Kazakhs remains sufficiently unsatisfactory, after nearly 40 years of effort expended in this direction, to provide KN assurance that the process is far from complete.

665 The nonparticipation of Kazakhs in Soviet developments presents a serious dilemma not only for the regime as a whole but also for the local Communist Party. The primary function of the Party in the Soviet system is to inspire or coerce the people to ever greater efforts toward the goals specified by the regime. Although the Party "carries a big stick," and is supported in this by the entire apparatus of the State, including the secret police, it is obvious that coercion alone is not sufficient to maintain a consistently high rate of output in the daily activities of any people. For this reason the Party uses the carrot as well as the stick, and the various devices used to stimulate production and increase enthusiasm for Soviet objectives are, with the majority of USSR citizens, quite effective. Whatever their real feelings toward the regime and its policies, these citizens see no alternative to living within the framework of Soviet society and making their way in accordance with its standards.

KN 665 563 K 154 The Kazakhs, on the other hand, feel they do have an alternative—their old way of life and its deeply entrenched values, which are still very much alive. This is not the road to riches, but few of them have ever had reason to hope for riches. As a result the Kazakhs generally put forth only the minimum necessary effort. Not only do they have little interest in industry and transport, but their output is consistently below expectations in agriculture and even in herding, their traditional occupation.

Thus the Party, under constant pressure from Moscow to increase output, finds itself equipped with techniques for encouraging production which are not adapted to dealing with a people who do not view their integration into Soviet society as inevitable. There remain only force and coercion, but these cannot be applied steadily enough to be effective with an entire people. When force was tried during the collectivization drive of the 1930's, the result was a net loss in production from which the economy of Kazakhstan has never fully recovered. Actually, the purges of which the western world is aware tend to be directed more toward the overwhelmingly Slavic membership of the Party, caught on the horns of its dilemma, than toward the Kazakhs who are the cause of the difficulty.

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592 live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

621 Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic 119 village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were 560 tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with 554 many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

592 Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals 162 living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. 583 Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this 595 allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; 593 authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions 562 rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this 181 pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1] USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members.

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme.

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) creates this analysis of the literary evidence.

she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually, she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1] Ilichsin, 1950.
[2] Izraxtsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3] Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4] Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

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> Mussulman propaganda in one form or another went into the Kirghiz Steppes from the side of Russia is the circumstance that especially those Kirghiz who live along our lines have become Mussulman, while the old genuine Shamanism is kept up, even at the present time, among those Kirghiz particularly who wander in the neighborhood of Khiva, Bukhara, and what was formerly Khokand, that is, in really Mussulman country."

Grigoriev ascribed too much importance to the weight of Russian intermediation on behalf of Islam, and thus continued the same sort of error he was describing; the Russian authorities greatly overestimated the role of Islam among the Kazakhs, while Grigoriev overestimated the role of the Russians in bringing it to them. Study of the problem of acculturation has made anthropologists today less naive concerning a people's capacity to accept or reject a given element from another culture. However, Grigoriev is correct in recording the error involved in official Russian recognition of Islam as the religion of the Kazakhs. This error is part of a still larger one, that of failing to understand the [171] cultural diversity in Central Asia, a matter which is implied by the error in language mentioned by Grigoriev. The Kazakhs have a different language from the Tartars of European Russia, as well as a different religion, economy, and social organization.

Grigoriev, on the other hand, calls attention to an important distinction regarding the religion of the Kazakhs, or as he calls them, the [565] Kirghiz: Only the ruling strata of Kazakh society had any degree of contact with Islam in the 18th century, when the Russian conquest began. This fact is independently corroborated by A. Bennigsen, who has conducted research among the Kazakh displaced persons of World War II, now living in Paris. Bennigsen writes, "It is only among certain D.P.'s who are descendants of the families of 'feudal bais' that we have observed the survival of the Moslem faith."[1] Only in families of this social class has there been any sort of Moslem tradition or learning.

The Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use the religion of Islam as a bridge into the society and political life of the Kazakhs. A similar tactic has been used repeatedly by the Soviet regime. The results have been negligible. In the words of a modern-day Kazakh [538] poet and novelist, Sabit Mukanov:

> "For many historical reasons, the Kazakh masses took relatively poorly to the religious traditions [of Islam], and the Kazakh woman was not subjected to the yoke of the laws of the Shariat to the same degree that, for instance, the Uzbek women were. The Kazakh women were never veiled; they took part in festivals together with men."[2]

In addition to Mukanov's statement that the Kazakh woman was not put into the harem or otherwise sealed off from the world, as the Moslem [562] woman is supposed to be, other reports indicate that the nomadic woman is notably freer than the woman of the settled villages and cities of Central Asia. This is an important index to the degree of influence which Islam practices have had on the life of the Kazakhs.

[1] Personal communication.
[2] Mukanov, 1949, p. 5.

KN 233 K [31] KN [61] K KN 463 464 includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[1] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas.

In industry, Russians occupy a predominant position, seconded by Ukrainians. The Kazakhs play only a tertiary role in industry and in transport. Examination of honors lists shows that the proportion of Kazakhs among the recipients of honors in industry is far lower than the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of their republic. The Kazakhs are not participating to the extent of their population strength in the industrial and transport development. They are not learning the skilled crafts of industrialization which would possibly recompense them for having had their herding lands taken away from them. This does not necessarily mean that they are being discriminated against, although this is a possible explanation. A second possibility is that the Kazakhs themselves are not coming forward to be trained, that they withdraw from the Soviet scheme of things and wish to have no part of it. They do not have the background in technical culture to develop a skilled labor force on their own.

K 562 464 KN [463] Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another perspective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[2] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[3]

K [463]

	Slavic	Turkic	Germanic	Korean
Men	16	3	1	2
Women	36	2	1	0

There were no Turkic names among the 39 scientific workers of the KSSR who received medals; 38 were Slavic, one Germanic.[4]

Again one must be careful to distinguish among the several factors which contribute to this state of affairs. On the one hand there is the picture of general nonparticipation by Kazakhs in Soviet developments. The situation of Kazakh women is made worse by their age-old position; women in Kazakh society have always had specified tasks to perform, and have taken their place behind the male leaders. The question of

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[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1952.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

female backwardness has not yet been overcome. The Kazakh women are not moving in the direction of Soviet goals at a pace with the rest of society; they are as far behind the men in this matter as the Kazakh men are behind the Slavic peoples of Kazakhstan in accepting the Soviet way of life.

The place of Kazakh women in the economy is in the farming sector and in specific aspects of herding, primarily as milkmaids. In fact, they are the basic labor force of the collective farms. In the chapter on Kazakh social organization some of the ramifications of this division of labor were examined. The fact in the economic picture remains as one Soviet authority has put it: "The greater proportion of the 233 kolkhoz members capable of work are women. Women are now the basic labor force in the kolkhozy of Kazakhstan generally. This is accounted for first of all by the increasing role of women in kolkhoz production, and also by the greater number of men leaving the kolkhoz for industry, transport, the cities, the Soviet administration, schooling, etc."[1]

A broad conclusion from the survey of urbanization as a worldwide phenomenon indicates that men proceed to the cities first, and are followed by women after a time lag which may extend over years. The Soviet Union's urbanization pattern is no exception. Women are the basic labor force in rural areas in the Soviet Union generally, and there has been a flight of men from the farms. In Kazakh society there is the additional factor of the unwillingness of men to take up farming. Although the women are the basic rural labor force, they are underrepresented in farm leadership, from brigade leaders to collective farm presidents. This same pattern will emerge from study of the figures for literacy, higher education, and Party work: nonparticipation of Kazakh women, or participation at a lower rate than among men.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in present-day Kazakhstan falls roughly into four categories:

(1) Grain
(2) Truck farming
(3) "Technical crops," including cotton, sugar beets, hemp, olives, tea, and tobacco
(4) Farming in conjunction with herding, with emphasis on livestock feed

Most of the cultivated land is in grain for human and animal consumption, as shown in Table 3.

The total area under cultivation in Kazakhstan increased in the decade 1942-52 by 4,000,000 hectares or 36 per cent. The area in grain increased by only 19 per cent, and the proportion of the total area in grain fell from 93 to 73 per cent. This drop is accounted for by the increase in area devoted to truck farming (largely a wartime development) and to a lesser degree by an increase in "technical crops." The

[1] Narbs, 1956, p. 71.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 8

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PROPORTION OF KAZAKHS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION AND IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	Population	Kazakh Proportion of Total Population (%)	Party Members and Candidates	Kazakh Proportion of Total Membership (%)
1926	6,503,000[a]	57[b]	32,000[c]	35[c]
1939	6,146,000[a]	42[b]	109,000[d]	32[d]
1949	6,650,000[e]	41[f]	229,000[g]	40[h]

[a]USSR Census.
[b]Lorimer and Goldware estimates (89).
[c]Golosbchekin, 1931.
[d]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[e]By interpolation from Goldware estimates for 1948 and 1950 (89).
[f]Based on Goldware's report on KSSR population (89).
[g]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Feb 49.
[h]*Ibid.*, 16 Jan 51.

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Table 9

WOMEN IN THE KSSR COMMUNIST PARTY

Year	All Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)	Kazakh Women (Per Cent of All Members and Candidates)
1927[a]	7.7	1.3
1940[b]	13.9	ND
1945[b]	32.1	ND
1949[c]	19.2	4.0

[a]Golosbchekin, 1931.
[b]*Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, Feb 49.
[c]*Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Jan 51.
ND: No data available.

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criticisms by Party leaders indicate that more women would be welcomed into the ranks and that the Kazakh Communist Party has a bad recruiting record; one can therefore assume that the rather low number of women in the Party is not due to any officially stated policy of exclusion. Only during the war years were any significant gains made. Especially poor is Party recruiting performance among women of Kazakh nationality (see Table 9). A set of figures, however, cannot adequately describe the role women play in the Kazakh Communist Party. In recent times women have been placed in responsible positions in increasing numbers. In 1951, for example, 12 out of 85 members of the Central Committee were women, and every regional committee and almost 90 per cent of the districts and cities had one female secretary.[1]

[1]According to figures in Meissner's book (98) and in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 20 Mar 47 and 26 Feb 49, women took a considerably more active part in government. From 1947 through 1952, consistently over one-third of all local Soviet delegates were women; out of 400 Supreme Soviet members, 149 were women (37%); *Sovetskaia Zhenshchina*, Sep-Oct, 1953.

KN 872 Certain other available data add some evidence on this matter. In 1950-1951 the proportions of school children in the total populations of five regions of Kazakhstan were as follows (expressed in percentages): Aktyubinsk, 15.0; Dzhambul, 20.2; East Kazakhstan, 18.3; Guryev, 17.6; and West Kazakhstan, 21.6.[1] Aktyubinsk and Guryev, the regions in K [872] which the school children formed the lowest proportion of the population, are primarily herding regions, populated largely by Kazakhs. Hence these incomplete data tend to support the conclusion that Kazakh children are underrepresented in the schools.

Today the number of people with more education is increasing, but there is no increase in the percentage of children starting school. The base of the education pyramid has not been enlarged.

K 177 Kazakhs resist Soviet education in those areas where education means giving up the traditional Kazakh culture. Even at best the Kazakh children are not being educated in numbers proportional to the total strength of the Kazakhs. This may mean that the Kazakh children are not going to school, or it may mean that some of those who go to school are going to Russian schools. Probably both factors are involved. The K [369] Kazakhs in the cities and in the industrial parts of Kazakhstan are accommodating to Soviet life more quickly than the rural, pastoral Kazakhs. Among the rural Kazakhs the traditional views of Russians, K [579] of schooling, of Sovietization, of the place of women in school and in life are still maintained. In rural regions the Kazakhs would be most reluctant to give their daughters to be trained in ways alien to their own. Their reluctance would be even greater if, for some of them, education meant giving up their native tongue for the Russian language. The literacy figures lend support to this, since literacy and mass education are closely related. In 1939, the last year for which a breakdown of literacy by sex is available, the literacy rate for the entire population of Kazakhstan was 76.3 per cent. The rate for males was 85.2 per cent, and that for females, 65.6 per cent. The traditional Kazakh view that women should be kept in the home and out of public life has not entirely yielded before the plans of the Soviet regime.

K KN 872 KN 563 Few data exist on the quality of instruction and the degree to which education in Kazakhstan is comparable to western standards. Certain conclusions are justified regarding the comparability of language instruction in Russian and Kazakh schools, however. The rate of failures in the higher educational institutions may be used as an index of the quality of the instruction offered in the Kazakh and Russian languages in the lower schools, since the graduates of these institutions become the teachers in the lower schools. In 1952 in Alma-Ata, the rate of failure was almost twice as high among the examinees in the Kazakh language as among those taking the Russian language. The rate of failure was 14.8 per cent in Russian, 27.8 per cent in Kazakh.[2]

The inference that the quality of education offered in the Kazakh language is lower than that given in Russian in Kazakhstan is borne out

[1] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, Second edition.
[2] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 24 Sep 52.

rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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[136] Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

[137] Izrastsov, 67.

[138] Ibid., 93.

582 bridepriice. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
583 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract, understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full status as a woman.

583 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
584 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh supplied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the family's prestige required to be the equal of the husband's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[579] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from one community to another; her movement was in conformity with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izrastsov, 82.

[Great Horde]

583 Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was
562 rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kara-Kirgis, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than the kalym.[148] However, women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband, however: for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.[149] The exclusion of wives from the legal
671 process may be accounted for in the following manner:
562 the judicial process rested on the support which a bii
63 could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; that is, the bii's[1] jurisdiction was his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patri-

[148] Ibid., 81, 91.

[149] Ibid., 68.

[1] [on the bii or "elder", cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]

671 lineage; that she always retained ties, spiritual and
● 52 legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was
43 a matter of membership in specific corporate structures,
the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

586 In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife with ease, at will, merely by sending her back to her family.[150] But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself, the wife could ask for a divorce.[151] More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the kalym;[152] the provisions for disposal of the property (dotalia and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.[153] Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence:

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[150] Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

[151] Izraztsov, loc. cit. Dingelstedt, loc. cit., mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

[152] Izraztsov, loc. cit.

[153] Dingelstedt, loc. cit.

681 602 We have dealt thus far with relationships of the law to the system of consanguinity; but there were also important relationships to the affinal system. One such relationship has already been mentioned, the fact that a husband and his kin were obliged to pay the full kun to the family of the wife if he killed her. Now the children of the murdered mother in this case got nothing,[162] and the reason for this is clear. They were reckoned in the paternal kin group, and thus suffered doubly: from the loss of a mother, and from the burden of the wergeld which they had to bear as part of the father's line.

On the other hand, if the wife was murdered by a stranger, the kun was divided equally between the wife's father's kin and the kin of the husband. If a betrothed girl was murdered, the father of the girl and his line received the entire kun, and the family of the affianced youth was presented with a choice, either to accept a sister of the victim, or to have the kalym returned and seek elsewhere for a wife.[163] The ambiguous situation of the woman could not be expressed more sharply in Kazakh life than by the process of division of the kun[1] if her life was taken: she was regarded as belonging fully to no group, neither to the husband's nor to the father's.

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[162] Izrastsov, 14.

[163] Idem.

[1] [i.e. Wergeld; Cf. cat. IIb, AHI Mongolia, p. 44&45. --Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

624 596 This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the aul, for the extended family, and in those cases, a fortiori, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The aul was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

595 The family was polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown. Two reasons are given, the kalym was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where [562] the first wife had no such preferred status. On the other hand, the wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.[245]

428 The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,[246] the daughters' portions being the settlement of a dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the prin-

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[245] Ibid., 107-108.

[246] Ibid., 108.